

ASSOCIATED PRESS
30 SEPTEMBER 1982

190 CHAUFFERED OFFICIALS SHARE PROXMIRE'S 'AWARD'

WASHINGTON (AP) - GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS WHO TRAVEL BY CHAUFFEUR-DRIVEN CARS ARE BEING "CORIDLED AND PAMPERED" AT A COST TO TAXPAYERS OF \$3.4 MILLION A YEAR: SEN. WILLIAM PROXMIRE, D-WIS., CHARGED TODAY.

"ONLY A HANDFUL OF FEDERAL OFFICIALS ARE SPECIFICALLY GIVEN THE AUTHORITY UNDER LAW TO ENJOY HOME-TO-WORK CHAUFFEURING," PROXMIRE SAID. "BUT MY SURVEY OF FEDERAL AGENCIES DEMONSTRATES THAT THE LACK OF LEGAL AUTHORITY HAS NOT STOPPED SCORES OF FEDERAL OFFICIALS FROM HOPPING INTO THE BACKSEAT."

PROXMIRE, A PHYSICAL FITNESS ADVOCATE WHO RUNS TO WORK EVERY DAY, AWARDED HIS "GOLDEN FLEECE" FOR SEPTEMBER TO THE 190 FEDERAL OFFICIALS WHO USE CHAUFFEUR-DRIVEN CARS. THE AWARD IS INTENDED TO SINGLE OUT WASTEFUL GOVERNMENT SPENDING.

THE LIST IS HEADED BY PRESIDENT REAGAN. BUT PROXMIRE NOTED THAT THE PRESIDENT IS SPECIFICALLY ENTITLED BY LAW TO USE OF A CHAUFFEUR AT ALL TIMES.

BUT HE SAID THE LAW LIMITS USE OF CHAUFFEURED CARS FOR MOST OTHERS TO OFFICIAL BUSINESS. THAT SHOULDN'T INCLUDE GOING BACK AND FORTH TO WORK, PROXMIRE ASSERTED.

"AT AN ANNUAL AVERAGE COST OF \$32,000 FOR THIS PERSONAL CONVENIENCE, THE AMERICAN TAXPAYERS ARE BEING BILLED ENOUGH TO PROVIDE THESE BUREAUCRATS WITH OVER 5,000 ROUNDTrip RIDES IN A TAXICAB FROM CAPITOL HILL TO GEORGETOWN EACH AND EVERY YEAR," HE SAID. GEORGETOWN IS ONE OF THE MOST FASHIONABLE NEIGHBORHOODS IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL.

PROXMIRE IS SPONSORING A BILL TO SPECIFICALLY DENY FUNDS FOR CHAUFFEURED CARS FOR COMMUTING PURPOSES EXCEPT IN EMERGENCIES.

PROXMIRE SAID THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT IS THE WORST OFFENDER, PROVIDING 60 OFFICIALS WITH CHAUFFEUR SERVICE. THE FIGURE INCLUDES 48 WHO ARE GRANTED THE PRIVILEGE ON AN EXCEPTIONAL BASIS AND 12 ON A REGULAR BASIS.

HE ADDED THAT THE CIA SPENDS \$26,000 A YEAR IN OVERTIME PAY FOR DIRECTOR WILLIAM CASEY'S CHAUFFEUR. THAT IS IN ADDITION TO THE DRIVER'S REGULAR SALARY OF \$20,000.

25 September 1982

All Tell And No Show

William Casey, director of the CIA, has engaged in rather silly game of "I've got a secret." Speaking before an American Legion convention, the director proclaimed that, since 1972, 25 nations have either fallen "under an increased degree of Soviet influence or faced an insurgency backed by the Soviets or their proxies."

Mr. Casey cited as documentation for his charges CIA maps he ordered prepared to show the spread of Soviet power, with the world's nations colored in varying shades of red to show levels of communist influence. Mr. Casey went on to say that, "Only 10 years ago . . . half as many nations of the world were colored in red."

However, the director did not make the maps public, nor did he explain what he meant by "degree of Soviet influence." The CIA refused to release the maps because they were prepared from classified material. Pressed later by journalists, the CIA appeared to be a bit defensive. CIA

spokesman Dale Peterson defended the maps by saying, "It is not a joke. We use it in a very serious fashion."

Well, if this is not a joke, then the CIA should release a sanitized version of the maps and explain what it means by Soviet "influence." Since 1972, many of the so-called Soviet triumphs have been Pyrrhic victories. Moscow's new client states in Indochina and Africa are political and economic basket cases. Afghanistan is a military quagmire and Poland is on the edge of revolt. Soviet power and influence in Africa, the Middle East and India are demonstrably on the wane. If there are 25 new nations "in the Soviet grasp," to use Mr. Casey's words, then Moscow has a very light touch indeed.

If Mr. Casey has hard, factual evidence to prove his point, then he has a duty to show it to the U.S. people. Otherwise his remarks appear to be little more than a crude — and foolish — propaganda exercise.

Free World Too Easy On Soviet Expansion

You may have read this headline in a recent edition of your newspaper:

"Color-Coded Map Shows Rising Soviet Influence."

The headline and accompanying story should arouse concern among everyone in the free world. It means we are losing the fight for freedom. Unless we can reverse the trend, we may lose the battle.

The free world is too complacent about the Soviet threat. Counter action taken so far is insufficient to halt the slow but sure gains Communism is making.

Russia may yet achieve what the architects of Communism have been preaching for years: bury capitalism without firing a shot. Soviet agents are working night and day to undermine freedom in western nations through subversion, bribery, and by any other means that will help them reach their goal.

Last April, Central Intelligence Agency Director William Casey asked cartographers (map makers) to prepare two maps, one showing "Soviet influence" in 1972 and another showing it this year.

"When this map was finished, 50 nations were in red," Casey said. "Only 10

years ago, in a similar map I had prepared, only half as many nations of the world were colored in red."

Twenty-five more nations came under Soviet influence in barely 10 years. World domination is still the grand design of Communism. At the rate it is spreading, it won't take many more years for the entire world to be colored red.

Casey said four countries extricated themselves from the Soviet grasp during the past decade, but 25 others either fell under an increased degree of Soviet influence or faced an insurgency backed by the Soviets or their proxies. He did not name the nations.

CIA spokesman Dale Peterson said the 50 nations under Soviet influence are colored various shades of red, including pink, to denote extent of Soviet influence.

However, he said the maps discussed by Casey at an American Legion convention in Chicago cannot be made public because classified information was used to prepare them. Peterson added, though, he is willing to check the map to see what color the United States was given.

"The United States is not pink," Peterson said adamantly, "It is white."

20 September 1982

Federal FOI Withstands Challenges

By TOM HAMBURGER

Gazette Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — A few weeks ago in Chicago, Central Intelligence Agency Director William J. Casey went before a national convention of the American Legion and blasted the federal Freedom of Information Act.

International co-operation with United States intelligence operations, he predicted, "will continue to dwindle unless we get rid of the Freedom of Information Act."

Casey said the act is a "self-inflicted wound which gives foreign intelligence agencies and anyone else a legal license to poke into our files."

Activities Scrutinized

Reporters and thousands of citizens have used the 1966 act to look at previously closed government activities, including the illegal domestic spying operations of the FBI and the CIA.

The act was designed to open the files of the federal bureaucracy to "any person." Information about ongoing intelligence and law enforcement operations has always been specifically exempted. In the post-Watergate years, the act was amended three times in an effort to achieve more openness.

But the 1980 elections changed the trend.

President Reagan and a more conservative Congress offered a sensitive ear to the complaints of law enforcement, intelligence agencies and business lobbyists who said the act was forcing them to lose valuable secrets.

This year, the act withstood its strongest attack. The administration and Senator Orrin Hatch (Rep., Utah) offered legislation that would have severely curtailed the release of information about business, law enforcement and intelligence activities and would have substantially increased the cost to the requester.

The legislation was approved by a Senate Judiciary subcommittee but was defeated May 20 by the full Judiciary Committee. The defeat occurred because of a combination of skillful lobbying by press and civil liberties groups and fortuitous political circumstances. Although it was saved, the future is by no means sure.

Business lobbies pushed unsuccessfully this year for changes that would have exempted information obtained from any company "if publication could reasonably be expected to impair the legitimate private, competitive research, financial or business interests of any person." Press groups charged that the provision would authorize the government to keep secret a wide range of information about dangerous foods, drugs, pesticides and other public welfare threats.

Business lobbyists say they were distracted from a full-scale assault on the act this year because of the crush of economic and tax legislation. But they promise to be back in force next year. "What we have done this year is just going to be the starting point for discussion in the next Congress," said Gary D. Lipkin, assistant general counsel of the National Association of Manufacturers.

Likewise, Casey and FBI Director William H. Webster will be back to ask for exemption from the act for their agencies even though there seemed to be little evidence to back up their assertions of the act's harmful effects. Webster repeatedly contended, for example, that the FOI Act "dried up" the agency's informants.

To check out those contentions, NBC News correspondent Carl Stern

used the FOI Act to discover that after a 19-month search, the FBI was able to document only 19 instances of informants, or potential informants, refusing to provide information because they feared their identities would be disclosed. No harm was reported to any informant as a result of the act and there was only one case in which agents believed that an informant was endangered because of released documents.

Press lobbies were able to apply pressure to Judiciary Committee members this year by rallying newspapers in the senator's home states.

20 September 1982

The wrong perception

CIA Director William J. Casey is stalking and hopes to eliminate what he perceives to be another enemy of this country. That enemy, according to Casey, is the Freedom of Information Act.

Casey has made all sorts of charges recently about the evils of the act, claiming that it gives foreign intelligence agents "legal license to poke into our files" and erodes the confidence of U.S. foreign operatives in the CIA's ability to protect its sources.

Casey could be accused of using the old spy ploy of misinformation in his campaign to aid the nation, and more specifically his agency, of the perceived hazards of the Freedom of Information Act.

The issue is not whether or not foreign intelligence agents can poke into CIA files. That's a camouflage. Foreign agents can request and receive information under the act by using some alias but the agency can keep secret anything that is classified secret. That was even enhanced this spring when the Reagan administration broadened the range of materials that can be classified secret.

The real issue is whether the CIA can protect its sources of information. Yes, it can. If someone requests information under the Freedom of Information Act and the request is denied, that person can appeal to the courts for a final judgment. To date, the courts have

never overturned a CIA decision to withhold any information.

The problem is that some sources overseas have the mistaken perception that their identities can be revealed under the FOI Act, despite the fact that there is no documentation of any source ever having been publicized. The problems have more to do with deliberate leaks within the executive branch, congressional hearings, writings by former CIA agents and classified information discovered in U.S. embassies in Saigon and Tehran than with any problems created by the FOI Act itself.

McKEESPORT NEWS (PA)
17 Spetember 1982

Secrecy Issue

CIA DIRECTOR WILLIAM J. Casey certainly made believable points in calling for repeal of the Freedom of Information Act.

He said that the measure gives foreign intelligence agents the "legal license to poke into our files." The ease with which the Soviet Union can gain information, he continued, has allowed that nation to bypass research and immediately produce deadly weapons that threaten the United States. He explained:

"The danger to our national security becomes all too obvious as we face the need to spend billions of dollars to defend ourselves against Soviet weapons, which have clearly leapfrogged development stages and achieved new power and accuracy through use of American guidance and radar systems, our bomb designs and our production methods."

Casey contends secrecy is an accepted way of American life in the medical and legal professions and in business and should be applied to the "intelligence business" as well.

Perhaps not everyone will agree with this latter argument, although much of what he says is probably true. But there's another angle to the controversy that Casey, quite naturally, didn't expound upon. It was during the Vietnam War that the Freedom of Information Act was passed, aimed at keeping the government from carrying out questionable or illegal actions secretly in the name of national defense.

Eight years ago, in the wake of Watergate, Congress broadened the act to prevent the kind of abuses that the Nixon Administration perpetrated in the name of national security.

The fact is that the CIA and other federal agencies can and do protect information that should be classified. Obviously, some operations are and ought to be kept secret — the identity of CIA agents and informants or the movement of troops in wartime, for example.

But what has been happening is that over the years too many of the secrets that public officials wanted to keep secret had to do with everyday operations — matters that the officials believed would be embarrassing or inconvenient if they were revealed.

The Freedom of Information Act has made it more difficult for public officials to hide their mistakes, abuse of power and lies.

The bottom line in the controversy is, in effect, to what degree can a democratic government, accountable to the people, co-exist with secrecy. It can't be giving the CIA or any other federal agencies license to operate without the expectation of public accountability. —

Commentary--

Federal Information Law Changes Needed

If it is true, as CIA Director William J. Casey claims, the Freedom of Information Act gives foreign intelligence agents "legal license to poke into our (CIA) files," no more time should be lost in repealing the law.

Because of his position in the government, credence must be given Casey's statements and they should serve notice on Congress that action is needed.

The U.S. has a hard enough time concealing its secrets without inviting foreign government representatives to inspect files of intelligence agencies.

Casey has warned the nation's security is suffering and its intelligence network losing effectiveness because security agencies are forced to comply with the Freedom of Information Act.

We would be among the last to condemn the purpose of the Freedom of Information Act, which is to provide citizens more information about government activities. Before passage of the act, it was easier for bureaucrats to keep the public in the dark.

Casey's criticism of the act came in a speech before the American Legion's national convention in Chicago. He said he questions "very seriously whether a secret intelligence

agency and the Freedom of Information Act can co-exist very long."

The willingness of foreign intelligence services to share information and rely on the U.S. fully and of individuals to risk their lives and reputations to help us will continue to dwindle "unless we get rid of the Freedom of Information Act," Casey warned.

Casey's disclosure that the FOI has enabled the Soviet Union to steal or buy information that has helped it improve the accuracy and power of weapons was the focal point of his attack on the law.

He defended secrecy as an accepted way of American life in the medical and legal professions and in business and should be applied to the "intelligence community" as well.

Citing the dangers of perpetuating a public information policy detrimental to U.S. security, Casey pointed out that Soviet influence has doubled in the past 10 years. In 1972, he said, 25 nations were under Soviet influence and the number is now 50.

The U.S. should move quickly to determine the validity of Casey's allegations and be guided by the results.

ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE 2

GUARDIAN (US)
22 September 1982

FOIA:

Reclassifying old news

In a new move to curtail use of the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) to obtain government documents, an executive order was issued Aug. 1 permitting government agencies to reclassify documents after their release to the public. As a result, publication of such documents can be suppressed and they can be recalled by the government at any time.

Even before the new executive order went into effect, however, security agencies were trying to stop publication of government papers by reclassifying them.

In the latest case, James Bamford—author of "The Puzzle Palace," a study of the National Security Agency (NSA) which directs U.S. intelligence gathering around the world—was threatened with prosecution by the Justice Department if his book was published. Only a last-minute settlement with the NSA removed the possibility of a \$10,000 fine and 10-year prison sentence for criminal espionage when the book is released Sept. 23.

Although few NSA documents are covered by the FOIA, in 1978 Bamford obtained 6000 pages of the NSA newsletter, a publication for employees and their families, through a loophole in the law. In 1980 he received 40 names and titles of NSA officials and a tour of the agency's headquarters in Ft. Meade, Md.

From this data Bamford was able to compile a list, included in his book, of NSA jobs, operations and directors since 1952.

In July 1981 the NSA demanded the return of the documents saying they had been released "by error" and were now reclassified and not available under the FOIA. Bamford consulted the American Civil Liberties Union and was advised not to give back the papers since FOIA regulations at that time did not permit reclassifying information.

Retired CIA employe Ralph McGehee faced a similar problem last April when many of the details in his book about the CIA, previously approved by the agency, were suddenly found to be "a mistake in declassifying." McGehee challenged the CIA's attempted reclassification of the material "under a new order" and the CIA backed down when they realized the executive order had not yet taken effect.

Up to now confiscation of publications and prosecution have been avoided because the documents were released prior to the effective date of the new executive order, but the government clearly intends to strictly limit the release of declassified information.

CIA director William Casey, addressing the national convention of the American Legion Aug. 24 said, "I question very seriously whether a secret intelligence agency and the FOIA can co-exist for very long. The willingness of foreign intelligence services to share information . . . and of individuals . . . to help us will continue to dwindle unless we get rid of the FOIA."

GAY FARLEY

The wrong perception

CIA Director William J. Casey is stalking and hopes to eliminate what he perceives to be another enemy of this country. That enemy, according to Casey, is the Freedom of Information Act.

Casey has made all sorts of charges recently about the evils of the act, claiming that it gives foreign intelligence agents "legal license to poke into our files" and erodes the confidence of U.S. foreign operatives in the CIA's ability to protect its sources.

Casey could be accused of using the old spy ploy of misinformation in his campaign to aid the nation, and more specifically his agency, of the perceived hazards of the Freedom of Information Act.

The issue is not whether or not foreign intelligence agents can poke into CIA files. That's a camouflage. Foreign agents can request and receive information under the act by using some alias but the agency can keep secret anything that is classified secret. That was even enhanced this spring when the Reagan administration broadened the range of materials that can be classified secret.

The real issue is whether the CIA can protect its sources of information. Yes, it can. If someone requests information under the Freedom of Information Act and the request is denied, that person can appeal to the courts for a final judgment. To date, the courts have

never overturned a CIA decision to withhold any information.

The problem is that some sources overseas have the mistaken perception that their identities can be revealed under the FOI Act, despite the fact that there is no documentation of any source ever having been publicized. The problems have more to do with deliberate leaks within the executive branch, congressional hearings, writings by former CIA agents and classified information discovered in U.S. embassies in Saigon and Tehran than with any problems created by the FOI Act itself.

UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL
15 SEPTEMBER 1982

Tribute planned for Donovan

By DREW VON BERGEN

WASHINGTON

--- Labor Secretary Raymond Donovan, who has been under a special prosecutor's investigation for most of his term, will be honored by administration and conservative colleagues at a \$50-a-plate banquet Oct. 13.

About 5,000 invitations to the "Tribute to Raymond J. Donovan" dinner, carrying the names of several high-level administration officials, have been sent out, an official of the Young Americans for Freedom organization said Friday.

Extending the invitation on behalf of friends of Donovan were Interior Secretary James Watt, presidential counselor Edwin Meese, Sen. Paul Laxalt, R-Nev., New Jersey Gov. Thomas Kean, and former Treasury Secretary William Simon.

"I am very pleased that my friends want to honor me in this way," Donovan said Friday, through a spokesman.

The black-tie-optional function is scheduled for the Grand Ballroom of the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, and planners are expecting at least 500 people.

"We expect a lot of people to come down from New Jersey," said Sam Pimm, a member of the dinner committee and official of the 95,000-member Young Americans for Freedom.

He said the conservative organization was the motivating force behind the dinner.

Pimm noted Donovan has been a member of the group's national advisory committee since shortly after taking office.

"He is really one of the most popular members of the Cabinet among the Young Americans for Freedom," Pimm said.

Pimm said that since Special Prosecutor Leon Silverman issued a report Sept. 13 concluding there is "insufficient credible evidence" to prosecute Donovan on ties to organized crime, the group decided to "show our appreciation to him for hanging in there and aggressively pushing the president's policies."

The invitations contain names of a 160-member host committee that includes many administration, conservative, congressional and New Jersey officials.

Among those on the committee are: Agriculture Secretary John Block; CIA Director William Casey; Energy Secretary James Edwards; U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick; former national security adviser Richard Allen; Sen. Jeremiah Denton, R-Ala.; Reps. Carl Pursell, R-Mich., and James Courter, R-N.J., and conservative Republican activist Phyllis Schlafly.

4
ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE 8

WASHINGTON TIMES
14 SEPTEMBER 1982

MARVIN LEIBSTONE

CIA's Casey gets good marks

When Bill Casey became CIA chief and Max Hugel head of the CIA's clandestine services, critics balked at their lack of experience. Hugel quit last summer because of past doings, but Casey, after Senate examination of his business affairs, is still around.

Mr. Casey has to provide the president a coherent view of the world. To do this, CIA analysts develop truth and speculation from information sent by agents or spy-machinery. Except for a January 1981 overdramatization of weapons reaching the Salvadoran left, Mr. Casey has received good marks. There have not been repeats of such CIA *faux-pas* as election rigging in Chile, confidence in the Shah of Iran, or misperceptions of Soviet behavior toward Afghanistan. And there have been few White House, State or Defense Department complaints about CIA documents.

About all critics have of late is the Wilson-Terpil matter, an account of gun running and Libyan terrorism involving former CIA agents, which is pre-Casey stuff anyhow.

If the CIA is doing well, though, is it because of Bill Casey's leadership, or is there another, perhaps more important reason?

True, Mr. Casey's predecessors captained the disastrous Bay of Pigs invasion, illegal spying of anti-war notables, excessive LSD experi-

ments. Congress had the good sense to urge them to "fess up!" Some, like Richard Helms and Bill Colby, were dragged through the fires of criticism mercilessly. But too often, CIA's critics home in on broken branches while blaming the wrong tree. For example, it was President Johnson who kept returning Vietnam assessments to the CIA to have them reflect not truth but his politics regarding the war. It was Johnson and Nixon who ordered the CIA to spy on anti-war activities in Chicago and Washington, and Nixon who suggested dirty tricks in Chile. It was Jimmy Carter's indifference to CIA capabilities that prevented tougher assessments of Iran's pre-Khomeini instability.

Presidents are much to blame, it seems, for an intelligence community's wrongdoings. Yet today's much-improved CIA performance not only results from Mr. Casey's doings, but also from a relationship that exists between him and his boss, the president.

Whether President Reagan is guiding Director Casey or allowing him the widest of parameters is of less concern than the question of presidential politicalization of Mr. Casey and the CIA. The president has demonstrated little interest in using the CIA to support foreign policy notions or political need, and that is certainly among key reasons why, today, the CIA receives better grades.

Probably the non-political president-CIA relationship is the most important managerial requirement for an effective intelligence program.

Marvin Leibstone, a former Army officer, is a Washington-based columnist.

3
Approved For Release 2005/12/14 : CIA-RDP91-00901R000400100004-2

UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL

14 SEPTEMBER 1982

Color it communist

WASHINGTON

Soviet influence increased in 25 nations during the past decade, and red-colored countries on a secret intelligence map graphically illustrates the point, says CIA Director William Casey.

Casey, a spokesman said today, in April asked CIA cartographers to prepare two maps, one showing "Soviet influence" in 1972 and another showing it this year.

The intelligence agency chief made reference to the map in a recent speech to the American Legion in Chicago.

"When this map was finished, 50 nations were in red," said Casey. "Only 10 years ago, in a similar map I had prepared, only half as many nations of the world were colored in red."

Casey said four countries "extricated themselves from the Soviet grasp" during the past decade but 25 others "either fell under an increased degree of Soviet influence or faced an insurgency backed by the Soviets or their proxies."

CIA spokesman Dale Peterson said Casey uses the maps he had prepared to point out that "Soviet influence appears to be growing throughout the world." Peterson said the maps "show it has increased pretty dramatically."

The maps, said Peterson, cannot be made public because classified information was used to prepare them, adding, "We were not able to create that kind of map using only unclassified sources."

Peterson said Casey uses the maps' findings "regularly when talking to people, and said the documents prepared as a "serious study. It's not meant

to be a joke. It's not a joke. We use it in a very serious fashion."

Without elaborating on the categories, he said the red areas on the maps are in various shades of red to reflect "several categories" of Soviet influence.

Cartographers at Casey's Office Are Seeing Red

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

CIA Director William J. Casey and his clandestine cartographers have hit upon a new way of coloring the world.

It's quite scary. An awful lot of it is RED.

At least that's what Casey said in a recent speech in Chicago to the American Legion. He said he asked his mapmakers to draw up a map of the world showing those "nations under a significant degree of Soviet influence."

"When this map was finished," Casey announced, "50 nations were in red. Only 10 years ago, in a similar map I had prepared, only half as many of the nations of the world were colored in red."

Details? Don't ask the CIA for any. "We can't provide any of those statistics," CIA spokesman Dale Peterson said. "Both maps are classified. I've checked into it very carefully. The information used for those maps was classified."

Actually, Casey gave some details in the speech. But they don't quite add up to 50. And they don't suggest a monochrome shade of red.

The way the CIA director explained it, four nations had "extricated themselves from the Soviet grasp" since 1972 while 25 others "either fell under an increased degree of Soviet influence or faced an insurgency backed by the Soviets and their proxies."

Twenty-five minus four plus 25. That would make 46, wouldn't it?

"I think he [Casey] meant only to generalize," Peterson replied.

Not all of the nations on the list, it seems clear, must be under the Soviet thumb to qualify for the crayon. Casey specifically mentioned 11 "faced with insurgencies throughout the world today, supported by Cuba, Libya, the Soviet Union or South Yemen."

Presumably those 11 include some with governments that might be regarded on other maps as under a significant degree of U.S. influence, such as El Salvador.

And what of Lebanon, which Casey singled out in his speech as one of those countries

where terrorist groups are trained with at least tacit Soviet approval? The maps were drawn up early this year. Did the Israeli invasion change Lebanon's coloring?

Peterson would not discuss such details. He did cite "gradations" in the coloring on the maps, reflecting "several categories" of Soviet influence. But he would not say how many there were or what they were.

Casey, however, seemed to be outlining one grouping when he warned in his speech of the threat emanating from "the ability of the Soviet Union, largely through its intelligence arm, the KGB, to insidiously insert its policy views into the political dialogue in the United States and other foreign countries. The KGB is adept at doing this in a way that hides the Soviet hand as the instigator."

Could it be that the United States is one of the 50 nations, colored pink perhaps? Peterson was willing to help narrow the field this much at least. He checked the map.

"The United States is not pink," he announced happily. "It is white."

Individual rights must be inviolate

Frustrations expressed recently by CIA Director William Casey are not difficult to understand.

Casey complained in a speech during the American Legion convention in Chicago that the Freedom of Information (FOI) Act causes problems for his agency.

The kind of information it is set up to obtain often involves the risk of torture and death. Agents are understandably miffed when they discover their sources can be exposed to foreign spies who find ways to get information from our files under the FOI act.

No one, particularly people with military experience, underestimates the value of intelligence. The information it is most difficult to obtain — the kind that involves the greatest risk — often spells the difference between success and failure of a mission.

But Casey's statement questioning "whether a secret intelligence agency and the Freedom of Information Act can co-exist for very long" is frightening even in view of the difficulties he describes. Getting rid of the Freedom of Information act is not the answer.

No one has ever said that it is easy to maintain the kind of liberties and freedom that make life in America unique. Totalitarian governments find it much simpler because they can keep everyone in their countries but a select few in the dark.

In those same countries, any-

one who represents any kind of a difficulty for the governing elite can be eliminated without questions being asked.

But that's the kind of a life the writers of the Declaration of Independence and framers of our Constitution sought to avoid. They chose a " ... government of the people, by the people and for the people ... " that functions only by a tenuous balance between the people who make up the government and the ones being governed.

They realized that such a process creates situations in which it is very difficult to give liberty on one side without risking protection on the other. They painted no picture of simplicity in such a life and recognized how vulnerable it is to misuse.

But safeguards against the leaks that cause so much trouble for the CIA can be provided without junking the FOI act. Classification of information critical to the defense of our country so that it can be withheld from any unauthorized parties is a far better approach.

The Freedom of Information Act also has been used by some to get information about products being developed by business competitors and this can be avoided by methods similar to classification.

Such cases can be treated as exceptions and the Freedom of Information act can be kept otherwise intact to provide citizens the access they should have to information they are paying for with their taxes.

ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE E-20

NEW YORK TIMES
12 SEPTEMBER 1982

Topics

Pious Deceptions

C.I.A. Disinformation

William Casey, the Director of Central Intelligence, is continuing his attack on the Freedom of Information Act by posing a false choice between an open society and a secure one. "I question very seriously," he told the American Legion recently, "whether a secret intelligence agency and a Freedom of Information Act can coexist for very long." That's because the law lets anyone, including foreign intelligence agencies, "poke into our files," he says. His solution: "Get rid of the Freedom of Information Act."

The C.I.A. and the F.O.I.A. have coexisted handsomely since 1966 with immense benefits for democracy and

no demonstrated harm. That's because the act specifically exempts from disclosure Government documents that are legitimately secret. Before any outsider can poke into a file, officials pore over it to see whether all or part of it is classified. The danger is not from over-exposure but over-classification.

The still undocumented threat to national security is said to be the reluctance of foreign intelligence services to share their secrets, and the fear of some individuals to risk lives and reputations to help the C.I.A. Instead of nourishing paranoia, Mr. Casey could ease those concerns by explaining to everyone how freedom of information really works.

7 September 1982

Casey's Plan Is Suspicious

There are two buzzwords used by those who want to make our country Fortress America again - national security and Soviet threat. Drop these terms into any conversation and you can automatically turn an argument around. After all, who wants to hurt national security or allow the Soviet hordes to overrun our country?

Whenever these words are used, however, it is necessary to pull back the cloak of national security and see the rest of the story. When Richard Nixon invoked executive privilege in the Watergate case as a means of protecting national security, it was a means of saving his own hide. It didn't have anything to do with the red menace.

A more recent case in point comes from a recent speech by CIA Director William Casey. When he spoke to a convention of the American Legion, he called for the repeal of the Freedom of Information Act. He said it gave foreign spies the "legal license to poke into our files." The Russians and other enemies are able to use the act, he said, to leapfrog years of technology development and create state of the art weapons courtesy of our technology.

Maybe it was the audience Casey was speaking to that spurred him to use such language, but we doubt it. Casey has been known as a shoot-from-the-hip kind of guy, so whatever he says often isn't carefully researched. But all of this is really irrelevant.

What is relevant is that the United States is known as the most open society on the planet. The Freedom of Information Act is a facet of this open society, and it has opened the way to more open government. The act has enabled many journalists and citizens to examine the workings of our government, a government we pay for. If we let the act go, then we run the risk of not knowing about what our government is doing, a situation that Reagan has repeatedly decried. If we want government off our backs, then we have to know what it is doing.

The act was created because of abuses within the CIA. For Casey to call for its repeal only serves to create more suspicion of the agency. His call makes us wonder if he has plans that he'd rather not have us know about.

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION

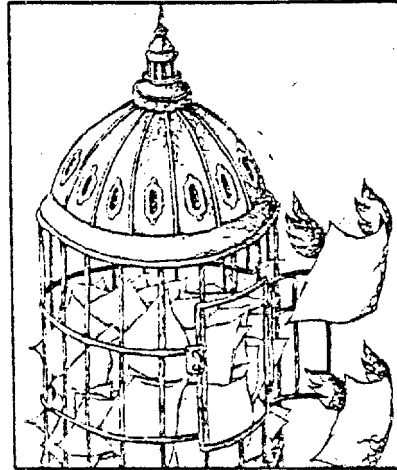
Act is vital tool for press and public

CIA Director William Casey has called for abolition of the Freedom of Information Act in order to protect national security. Where have we heard that specious argument before?

Casey's drastic proposal would be a classic example of throwing the baby out with the bath water, and it raises questions about how much dirty laundry is floating around the Central Intelligence Agency that the director wants to deep-six forever.

The act already has been used to expose such CIA abuses as its illegal surveillance of syndicated columnist Jack Anderson and its recruiting of teachers to spy on students on college campuses.

Casey claims to be concerned that the act gives Soviet intelligence agents "legal license to poke into our files" — and thus improve their own weapons or learn the identities of CIA agents. However, most CIA files are exempt from public scrutiny, and the act allows federal agencies to deny or delay disclosure through a lengthy appeal process that can take months, if not years. Since the act became law in 1966, not a single sentence has been released over the CIA's objection.



Several bills are pending in Congress to modify the act, but we don't think it needs extensive changes. FBI Director William Webber supports a moderate amendment allowing law-enforcement and intelligence agencies to withhold any information that would "tend to identify" a confidential source or agent. That strikes us as reasonable enough.

But the Reagan administration has altered the act on its own by revoking guidelines that limited bureaucratic challenges to public access, and ending the automatic declassification of government documents on foreign affairs that had been instituted by the Eisenhower administration.

Opponents contend the act is unduly rigid, imposes excessive costs on the taxpayer, and produces very little benefit. We disagree. The act is a vital tool that the press and public can use to guarantee openness in government.

Walter Cronkite, in a recent article about the act, quoted another public figure: "When information that properly belongs to the public is systematically withheld by those in power, the people soon become ignorant of their own affairs, distrustful of those who manage them, and eventually incapable of determining their own destiny."

Cronkite was quoting Richard Nixon, before the fall. Ah, yes. Now we remember where we heard that "national security" argument before.

Official Secrecy Versus Democracy

William J. Casey, the president's crony and director of the Central Intelligence Agency, says the spy outfit may not be able to coexist with the Freedom of Information Act. He recommends getting rid of the act.

Baloney! The Freedom of Information Act, under fire since the Reagan team took office, was passed by Congress in reaction to years of abuse by executive-branch departments. It was meant to thwart the impulses of bureaucrats with their mania for secrecy stamps and for hiding information from the public they serve. The instinct of some bureaucrats, as unthinking as that of lemmings dashing into the sea, is to keep public business as private as possible.

More often than not, the information, when it is finally pried from their clutches, isn't nearly as sensitive as they would have you believe. And, often as not, their real reason for hiding information

has little to do with vital public purposes; it has to do with protecting the bureaucrats' comfort, or sparing them embarrassment.

This is supposed to be a democracy—a government as open as possible. People can hardly make democratic decisions if they don't have information on which to base them. If the government will not cooperate then a law is necessary.

The Freedom of Information Act, while not perfect, has worked fairly well. It should be strengthened and improved, not diluted or junked. The administration of President Jimmy Carter, to its credit, acted more in keeping with the intent and spirit of the act than has the Reagan administration.

Mr. Casey complains that the Freedom of Information Act makes it difficult for the Central Intelligence Agency to do its job and protect secrets. We can take that with a large pinch of salt. Five will get you ten that the people who are most kept in the dark by official government secrecy are American citizens, not the enemy's spies.

Besides that, one doubts that the security of this nation depends on cloak-and-dagger games as much as Mr. Casey seems to think. Our security depends primarily on our physical strength and our willingness to use it against aggression.

If Mr. Casey were right, and the Central Intelligence Agency truly could not function with the Freedom of Information Act in place, then the choice would be easy, but it is not the one Mr. Casey advocates. If it were a matter of getting rid of one or the other, then we should get rid of the CIA.

A government that cannot trust its people cannot be trusted. ■

ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE 50

BOSTON GLOBE
5 SEPTEMBER 1982

PROFILE

Off the CIA hit list and onto the guest list

By Paul Aaron
Special to The Globe

In 1967, one of the tunes the "Worldwide Wurlitzer" played had Edward Jay Epstein's name on it.

According to witnesses testifying before the House Committee on Intelligence, the "Worldwide Wurlitzer" was a name of choice for the CIA's global propaganda network. Fifteen years ago, when the word went out from CIA headquarters that skeptics of the Warren Commission Report were to be neutralized, Epstein, then a Harvard graduate student renting a room in Daniel Patrick Moynihan's house in Cambridge, was No. 1 on the hit list.

His book, "Inquest," represented what the CIA called a "coherent" and "scholarly" analysis of the government's investigation into the assassination of John F. Kennedy. In a dispatch sent to its field offices, the CIA noted that "the New York Times daily book reviewer has said that Epstein's work is a 'watershed book that makes it respectable to doubt the Commission's findings.'" Because of its credibility, the CIA added, Epstein's critique "should be singled out for attack."

While data leaked from classified dossiers sought to expose Mark Lane and others as anti-American ideologues, the CIA suggested that "our play" with Epstein should be to ridicule "his love of theorizing and lack of common sense and experience." As an example of "useful background material for passage to assets," the CIA attached a scathing article on Epstein that had been prepared in Langley, the CIA's Virginia headquarters, and planted in the respected British journal, the Spectator.

Sitting on his penthouse veranda that overlooks East Side Manhattan, Epstein, who delights in toying with ideas, wonders out loud about the possibility of a multimillion-dollar damage suit against the CIA. But rather than the prelude to a serious confrontation, such musings have become the stuff of an ongoing family quarrel. Once the target of a dirty-tricks campaign, Epstein has since grown accustomed to a different kind of special treatment. Today Epstein is, at 47, a welcome visitor to the clandestine netherworld, where he enjoys

The Consortium for the Study of Intelligence, a quasi-official, elite group composed of congressional staff, corporate executives, high-ranking CIA officers and leading neo-conservative academics, invites Epstein to present papers on espionage and deception.

'Ed would have made a fine spy'

When he flew to Tel Aviv to conduct research for his latest book, "The Rise and Fall of Diamonds," he was accompanied by James Angleton, the CIA's long-time counter-intelligence chief, who ran the agency's Israel desk. Angleton, ousted in 1973 by CIA Director William Colby, who complained that Angleton's avid hunt for double agents and his interrogation of human sources yielded more heat than light, has been one of Epstein's most loyal guides through "the wilderness of mirrors."

"Disinformation, or Why the CIA Cannot Verify an Arms Control Agreement," the article Epstein wrote for the July issue of Commentary magazine, has already aroused debate within the National Security Council and elicited detailed response from CIA chief William Casey and Reagan Administration arms-control negotiator Eugene Rostow.

Perhaps the ultimate accolade was paid Epstein by the best man at Richard Helms's wedding, William Hood - OSS-CIA charter member and author of "Mole," a recent case study of a Soviet "defector-in-place" - said: "Ed would have made a fine spy."

Though Epstein is an investigative writer rather than an intelligence operative, success in both fields demands a similar craft and discipline. The good sleuth is patient, attentive to nuance and anomaly, suspicious that what appears at face value may be counterfeit. In a career based on the pursuit of doubt, Epstein is uncommitted, beyond taking pleasure in deconstructing the official version of things.

Despite being an avowed political agnostic, partisans often mistake him as an ally. His books debunking the Warren Commission Report, the CIA's cover-up of the Drug Enforcement Agency ("Agency of Fear"), won Epstein a following on the left. "Legend," a meticulous portrait of Lee Harvey Oswald as a KGB agent,

and the current Commentary piece have made Epstein the favorite of those "spooks" and Pentagon Jeremiahs who believe arms control is a lethal hoax and the Kremlin holds a blueprint for Soviet world conquest.

Rejecting the role of pointman in some search-and-destroy mission against the nuclear freeze, Epstein grows impatient with attempts to reduce the dialectics of deception to a crude and mechanical subterfuge. "Facts," he says, "are subtle, full of mystery and metaphysics, and change their shape according to the context in which they are presented." Disinformation, a complicated art form, aims to alter this delicate ecology of meaning and manipulate what people perceive and expect.

Cites 'missile gap' charade

As an example, Epstein describes how the Soviets, during the 1950s, sought to portray their primitive nuclear arsenal as robust. An elaborate false front was constructed to deter and delude: Soviet scientists leaked false data to foreign colleagues and at May Day parades the same few bombers circled the reviewing stand to give the appearance of an armada.

Epstein believes the success of this charade depended upon the Pentagon's unwitting collusion. Moscow knew that its disinformation would find a ready customer in the US Air Force, which at that time was lobbying Congress for additional money by warning that a widening missile and bomber "gap" left America at the mercy of the Soviets.

Just as they concealed their weakness by feeding bogus intelligence that corroborated US misassessments, so too, says Epstein, are the Soviets now using a similar kind of conceptual jiu-jitsu to conceal their strength.

The Pentagon, Epstein asserts, has seriously underestimated the accuracy of Soviet missiles. It was an article of faith among US defense planners that the Soviets are specialists in brute force but deficient in finesse, and developed missiles whose huge payloads compensated for relatively crude guidance systems. According to Epstein, this assumption seemed to be confirmed

4 September 1982

WASHINGTON

Authorities prevented scientists from delivering several technical papers at an international conference last month to keep sensitive material out of Soviet hands, a Defense Department official said Saturday.

The Defense Department spokesman said the security crackdown came under the International Traffic Arms Regulation, which is designed to prevent the unauthorized disclosure of sensitive technical data of use to the Soviet military.

"There were some papers found to be subject to International Traffic Arms Regulation (ITAR) because the papers were judged to contain materials which should not be presented with Soviet and East European representatives present," she said.

The security block, which received little attention at the time, was the most dramatic effort made by the Reagan administration under ITAR.

The Reagan administration has fought intensely to halt what intelligence officials claim is the most serious espionage threat to the United States -- technological information leaks.

Intelligence officials have said nearly all Soviet spy activity currently is directed at U.S. factories under Defense Department contracts manufacturing radar, computer, infra-red ray, laser equipment, anti-submarine, tactical, and space equipment -- anything with potential military application.

CIA Director William Casey said in a recent speech in Chicago that the Soviets are using the freedom of information act to extract technological secrets from the United States and asked that intelligence agencies be exempted from disclosure under the act.

Of the recent espionage cases that have come to trial -- and many are suppressed because of security -- most have involved illegal exchanges of technical information.

EXCERPTED

ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE A-29

THE WASHINGTON POST
3 September 1982

VIEWS

*Rowland Evans
And Robert Novak*

Reagan Sheds His Mideast Fantasies

Although President Reagan was too polite to let it show, he was unpleasantly surprised when Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin informed him during his last Oval Office visit not to worry about congressional reaction to the Lebanon invasion because, as Begin said, "I can handle" Capitol Hill.

Begin's claim to have such persuasive powers in the U.S. Congress flashed a warning signal to Reagan about the American-Israeli relationship. The warning was compounded by Israel's use of its U.S.-supplied military power in Lebanon. The result was Reagan's cool, dispassionate speech Wednesday evening obliterating vestiges of candidate Reagan's Mideast policy fantasies. Reagan reminded Begin that Israel has pledged to give West Bank Palestinians full autonomy over their land and resources as well as themselves. Beyond that, the president's speech was calculated to appeal to many American Jews who, with moderate Israeli leaders in the once-dominant Labor Party, disown threats by Begin and Defense Minister Ariel Sharon to annex the occupied territories.

It was no accident that Reagan received the moderate Labor Party leader, Shimon Peres, in the Oval Office two weeks ago, an unusual invitation for an out-of-power party leader. No clearer sign could have been given Begin and Sharon that the United States will never accept an Israeli takeover of the West Bank.

The chief architect of Reagan's new Palestinian policy was Secretary of State George Shultz. The Israelis are mistaken, however, if they think Shultz, following Alexander Haig's pro-Israel tenure, coerced the president into accepting a plan against his own ideological beliefs, as he has sometimes been coerced on economic policies. On the contrary, the new West Bank plan is unanimously backed by Reagan, National Security Adviser William P. Clark, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, and CIA chief William J. Casey, as well as Shultz.

What helped convert Reagan from benign defender of Israel's settlements policy during the 1980 presidential campaign to his demand for a freeze on all new settlements was the Begin-Sharon practice of ignoring American interests. Reagan's alarm that the rest of the world saw the United States as a client of Israel began when Israel bombed Iraq's nuclear plant, escalated with the annexation of Syria's Golan Heights and the early bombings of Lebanon and climaxed with the siege of Beirut. Then came threats to Jordan.

The timing of the speech was dictated by Israel's dispersal of the PLO from Beirut and the proof of military dominance that Reagan found in its victory over both the PLO and Syria. "The PLO has lost its legs and Israel's cries for help are losing their appeal in the U.S.," a top presidential aide told us. "This was the time to move on the West Bank."

Even in moving, Reagan was given another reason to question Begin's good faith. When his letter outlining the new plan was handed to Begin on Tuesday, the prime minister was asked to say nothing until Reagan's speech to the American people. But Begin leaked the letter in what the White House believes was a sabotage effort. Reagan reacted by moving up his speech 24 hours and nursing another grievance.

© 1982, Field Enterprises, Inc.

QUAD CITY FILES (IL)
2 SEPTEMBER 1982

Casey loses balance

Neither CIA Director William Casey nor American Legionnaires in Chicago distinguished themselves when the former called for the elimination of the Freedom of Information Act and the latter applauded this assault on government openness.

Casey, who is head of intelligence, appeared to lack some of it when he failed to recognize the need to keep a balance between government secrecy and the public's right to information from government agencies. "I question," said Casey, "whether the Central Intelligence Agency and the Freedom of Information Act can coexist very long."

Casey complains that the act gives foreign intelligence agents "a legal license to poke into our files." That hardly is the case since national security information is exempt from disclosure. Classified material

simply is not revealed. By claiming that what isn't is, Casey merely reinforces unfounded fears by some foreign intelligence groups that sharing information with the CIA is risky business.

The either-or argument by Casey just doesn't wash. Just as there is need for government secrecy in CIA work, there is need for government accountability. One doesn't have to go out of existence to serve the other. That's why the Freedom of Information Act is so carefully written. And let's not forget, as Casey apparently has, the Constitution, which definitely supports open-government concepts.

Casey's hard pitch for secrecy is rather scary when he would sacrifice the Freedom of Information Act for it. Casey is way off base here.

WHO'S WHO in the Administration

Insiders say presidential advisor Michael Deaver is embarrassing his colleagues by the way he is hustling himself into a higher public profile in anticipation of his planned return to the public relations business. Deaver, complaining of having to scrape by on his present \$60,000-plus salary, plans to leave government and return to p.r. next year—in plenty of time to make the best use of his White House access. . . .

Everyone has been saying what a fine fellow George Shultz is. We remember when he was a coward, in 1969 when he served as Nixon's secretary of labor. That year reformer Jock Yablonski challenged Tony Boyle for the presidency of the United Mine Workers. Boyle and his henchmen used bribes, embezzled union funds, rigged local elections, assaulted Yablonski supporters, and finally murdered Yablonski and his family in order to squelch the challenge. Yet despite the clear intent of the Landrum-Griffin Act, Shultz refused to lift a finger to ensure the integrity of the union elections, although Yablonski's lawyers pleaded that he do so. . . .

While Shultz's nomination breezed through the Senate, Labor Secretary Ray Donovan was exonerated by special prosecutor Leon Silverman, who concluded that Donovan's acquaintances with known mobsters didn't constitute illegal behavior. Donovan is now saying this verdict makes him an "asset" on the Reagan team, a claim vaguely reminiscent of John Connally's proud boast during his 1980 presidential bid that voters should trust him because he was the

only candidate who'd been certified "not guilty" by a jury.

It has escaped attention that White House counsel Fred Fielding deserves a large share of the blame for this sorry affair. It was Fielding who forgot to tell the Senate Labor Committee that Donovan had been investigated by the FBI for possible mob links and that Donovan's Schiavone Construction Company had been described as "mobbed up" in FBI reports. Water-gate buffs may recall that this is the same Fred Fielding who rifled the contents of Howard Hunt's safe (wearing surgical gloves). After politically explosive documents were removed, the contents were turned over to FBI Director L. Patrick Gray, who destroyed them. . . .

Speaking of the exonerated, Donovan now joins the illustrious company of William J. "Not Unfit" Casey, whose involvement in fraudulent securities practices caused a stir last year. Lou Cannon reports in his forthcoming book on Reagan that the CIA chief has yet another nickname. During the 1980 campaign Casey earned the nickname "Spacey" from senior Reagan aides for his inability to remember the dates of primaries, the names of prominent politicians, and what portions of the schedule he was responsible for. This may help explain why Reagan repaid his old friend with a job at the CIA, where the requirements of secrecy minimize the chance Casey's reputation will spread much beyond Reagan's inner circle.

What's Happened to U.S. Foreign Policy?

BY ROWLAND EVANS AND ROBERT NOVAK

AT THE BEGINNING of his Presidency, Ronald Reagan promised he would restore lagging U.S. military strength, resist Soviet expansionism and end depredations in Latin America by Fidel Castro's Cuba. He described President Jimmy Carter's foreign policy as "weak, vacillating, amateurish, indecisive and confused." A revival of American activism abroad seemed certain.

But by early this summer it was painfully clear that Reagan's own foreign policy had stumbled badly, buffeted by one world crisis after another. The sudden resignation of Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig, Jr., in late June represented a belated attempt by the President to regain control of his foreign policy. Haig's insistence that he alone was the "vicar" of American foreign policy had not only exhausted Reagan's patience but had led to a catalogue of confusions and reverses that the new Secretary of State, George P. Shultz, must now address:

The Soviet Union. Backed by conservatives in both the Republican and Democratic parties, Reagan had long argued that American dealings with the Soviet Union in such areas as grain sales, technology exchange and strategic-arms control must be "linked" to Soviet good conduct in other areas. The logic of linkage: if the Russians betrayed our trust in one sphere, they should not be trusted in another. But when the Soviets continued to prosecute their war against Afghanistan and engineered a mar-

tial-law crackdown in Poland, tough talk from the President far outran the Administration's performance in generating economic and financial reprisals. Although Reagan could have declared these Soviet actions a roadblock to much-needed disarmament talks, he instead called for "early" arms negotiations without a quid pro quo from the Kremlin. The concept of linkage had disappeared without a trace.

Latin America. Haig's warlike rhetoric created expectations of tough U.S. actions to stop Cuba's export of revolution. But when conservative Senators protested the basing of MiG fighter-bombers in Cuba, the White House, backed by the Pentagon, chose caution. In dealing with the increasingly repressive Marxist regime in Nicaragua, the Administration did little to encourage Nicaraguan resistance groups. The White House's lack of strategy to meet the threat of a Cuban-armed Nicaragua disillusioned many Latin Americans.

The Middle East. The Reagan Administration made three major blunders in this strategically crucial area. After first seeming to accommodate Israel, it then reversed itself so drastically that it alienated Prime Minister Menachem Begin's government. It then irritated our closest Arab friends by not pressing Israel to fulfill the commitments made at Camp David to negotiate self-government for Arabs in the lands captured west of the Jordan

River in the 1967 war. And by failing to take a strong position on Iraq's war with Ayatollah Khomeini's Soviet-backed Iran, the Administration exposed the oil-rich Persian Gulf states to the threat of religious wars and Soviet penetration. When Israel's military invasion of Lebanon shattered Palestine Liberation Organization forces in June, the Administration's hesitation, then acquiescence, made the United States appear impotent to the world—and especially to the Arab nations.

WHAT HAPPENED? Almost certainly, there has been no change in Ronald Reagan's world view. But as a novice in international affairs, the new President delegated the substance of foreign policy to men who did not share his basic instincts enough to translate them into action. Chief among these was the pragmatic Haig, who had the freest hand of any recent Secretary of State. Without interference from the White House, he staffed his department with Foreign Service officers, holdovers from previous Administrations and outsiders without visible ideological connection to Ronald Reagan. Policy-making power remained in the hands of temporizing, business-as-usual State Department professionals.

National Security Council (NSC) meetings were the scene of slugfests between the deep-toned and aggressive Haig and the soft-voiced, lawyerly Defense Secretary Caspar

CONTINUED